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10 DOWNING STREET

THE PRIME MINISTER

29 May 1986

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PRIME MINISTER'S  
PERSONAL MESSAGE  
SERIAL NO. T103C/86

Dear Mr. President:

I was most grateful for your message which I received shortly before my departure for Israel. It was very helpful to have your views and to be able to speak in full knowledge of them in my discussions with Mr. Peres.

I very much agree with you on the dangers of the present hiatus in the peace efforts. I therefore made use of my visit to discuss with Mr. Peres a number of steps which might be taken to restore momentum to that process. I emphasised that the goal must continue to be negotiations with a joint Jordanian/Palestinian delegation. I suggested that, until it was possible to resume discussion on this, it made sense to focus in particular on the prospects for practical measures to improve conditions in the Occupied Territories. I made clear that this was a prelude to and not a substitute for eventual settlement. I pointed out that Israel could not claim full democratic and human rights for its own people while denying them to others. I re-affirmed my view that the PLO would have to renounce violence and accept United Nations Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 before it could play a direct role in the negotiating process. I also made clear my view that the right of the Palestinians to determine their own future could most effectively be pursued in the framework of some kind of

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federation with Jordan. Throughout I laid stress on the goal of peace with security both for Israel and for its Arab neighbours.

I found Mr. Peres very willing to consider practical steps to improve conditions in the Occupied Territories. He and many others to whom I spoke clearly held the view that it did Israel no good to be an occupying power. He also showed considerable interest in the possibility of discussions with Egypt and Jordan on the future of Gaza. You are no doubt in touch with him about this. He spoke at some length about his proposals for a Middle East economic development programme which seemed to me to dovetail in some respects with your own very important proposals. He underlined, as did all Israeli Ministers to whom I spoke, his attachment to the peace treaty with Egypt and his great respect for you personally and your commitment to peace. He appeared hopeful that early progress could be made on the difficult issue of Taba and hoped that agreement on how to proceed on Taba would enable Israel and Egypt to resume discussions on broader questions of peace and security.

I did not go to Israel with any specific initiative in mind but rather to explore the Israeli Government's many views on the way ahead and establish whether there was any way in which the United Kingdom could help. No new proposals emerged from my talks. But I am encouraged by the atmosphere of Mr. Peres' positive approach towards the need for fresh peace efforts and by his desire to see concrete steps taken to improve the situation in the Occupied Territories while efforts to move towards negotiations in an international framework are, for the time being, in suspense. I am sure that we should take advantage of this atmosphere while he remains in the lead on these matters in Israel.

I also met with a delegation of Palestinians from the West Bank and Gaza. I found this very helpful in reaching a better understanding of their grievances. I was also encouraged by their readiness to seek a peaceful settlement

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by negotiation and to renounce terrorism. They were less forthcoming on possible interim steps to improve the situation in the Occupied Territories. The majority of them also stressed to me their common position with the leadership of the PLO.

I send you my warmest regards.

Yours sincerely

Rangab Dalila

His Excellency President Mohamed Hosni Mubarak

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MIDDLE EAST; Situation : Pt 14.

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FM FCOLN TO CAIRO  
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TO DESKBY 290600Z CAIRO  
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OF 282100Z MAY 86

PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO ISRAEL

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER TO PRESIDENT MUBARAK. PLEASE DELIVER THIS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. SIGNED ORIGINAL FOLLOWS BY BAG. BEGINS

I WAS MOST GRATEFUL FOR YOUR MESSAGE WHICH I RECEIVED SHORTLY BEFORE MY DEPARTURE FOR ISRAEL. IT WAS VERY HELPFUL TO HAVE YOUR VIEWS AND TO BE ABLE TO SPEAK IN FULL KNOWLEDGE OF THEM IN MY DISCUSSIONS WITH MR. PERES.

I VERY MUCH AGREE WITH YOU ON THE DANGERS OF THE PRESENT HIATUS IN THE PEACE EFFORTS. I THEREFORE MADE USE OF MY VISIT TO DISCUSS WITH MR. PERES A NUMBER OF STEPS WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN TO RESTORE MOMENTUM TO THAT PROCESS. I EMPHASISED THAT THE GOAL MUST CONTINUE TO BE NEGOTIATIONS WITH A JOINT JORDANIAN/PALESTINIAN DELEGATION. I SUGGESTED THAT, UNTIL IT WAS POSSIBLE TO RESUME DISCUSSION ON THIS, IT MADE SENSE TO FOCUS IN PARTICULAR ON THE PROSPECTS FOR PRACTICAL MEASURES TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. I MADE CLEAR THAT THIS WAS A PRELUDE TO AND NOT A SUBSTITUTE FOR EVENTUAL SETTLEMENT. I POINTED OUT THAT ISRAEL COULD NOT CLAIM FULL DEMOCRATIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS FOR ITS OWN PEOPLE WHILE DENYING THEM TO OTHERS. I

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RE-AFFIRMED MY VIEW THAT THE PLO WOULD HAVE TO RENOUNCE VIOLENCE AND ACCEPT UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 BEFORE IT COULD PLAY A DIRECT ROLE IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. I ALSO MADE CLEAR MY VIEW THAT THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE COULD MOST EFFECTIVELY BE PURSUED IN THE FRAMEWORK OF SOME KIND OF FEDERATION WITH JORDAN. THROUGHOUT I LAID STRESS ON THE GOAL OF PEACE WITH SECURITY BOTH FOR ISRAEL AND FOR ITS ARAB NEIGHBOURS.

I FOUND MR. PERES VERY WILLING TO CONSIDER PRACTICAL STEPS TO IMPROVE CONDITIONS IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. HE AND MANY OTHERS TO WHOM I SPOKE CLEARLY HELD THE VIEW THAT IT DID ISRAEL NO GOOD TO BE AN OCCUPYING POWER. HE ALSO SHOWED CONSIDERABLE INTEREST IN THE POSSIBILITY OF DISCUSSIONS WITH EGYPT AND JORDAN ON THE FUTURE OF GAZA. YOU ARE NO DOUBT IN TOUCH WITH HIM ABOUT THIS. HE SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH ABOUT HIS PROPOSALS FOR A MIDDLE EAST ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME WHICH SEEMED TO ME TO DOVETAIL IN SOME RESPECTS WITH YOUR OWN VERY IMPORTANT PROPOSALS. HE UNDERLINED, AS DID ALL ISRAELI MINISTERS TO WHOM I SPOKE, HIS ATTACHMENT TO THE PEACE TREATY WITH EGYPT AND HIS GREAT RESPECT FOR YOU PERSONALLY AND YOUR COMMITMENT TO PEACE. HE APPEARED HOPEFUL THAT EARLY PROGRESS COULD BE MADE ON THE DIFFICULT ISSUE OF TABA AND HOPED THAT AGREEMENT ON HOW TO PROCEED ON TABA WOULD ENABLE ISRAEL AND EGYPT TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS ON BROADER QUESTIONS OF PEACE AND SECURITY.

I DID NOT GO TO ISRAEL WITH ANY SPECIFIC INITIATIVE IN MIND BUT RATHER TO EXPLORE THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT'S MANY VIEWS ON THE WAY AHEAD AND ESTABLISH WHETHER THERE WAS ANY WAY IN WHICH THE UNITED KINGDOM COULD HELP. NO NEW PROPOSALS EMERGED FROM MY TALKS. BUT I AM ENCOURAGED BY THE ATMOSPHERE OF MR. PERES' POSITIVE APPROACH TOWARDS THE NEED FOR FRESH PEACE EFFORTS AND BY HIS DESIRE TO SEE CONCRETE STEPS TAKEN TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES WHILE EFFORTS TO MOVE TOWARDS NEGOTIATIONS IN AN INTERNATIONAL FRAMEWORK ARE, FOR THE TIME BEING, IN SUSPENSE. I AM SURE THAT WE SHOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF

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THIS ATMOSPHERE WHILE HE REMAINS IN THE LEAD ON THESE MATTERS IN ISRAEL.

I ALSO MET WITH A DELEGATION OF PALESTINIANS FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA. I FOUND THIS VERY HELPFUL IN REACHING A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR GRIEVANCES. I WAS ALSO ENCOURAGED BY THEIR READINESS TO SEEK A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BY NEGOTIATION AND TO RENOUNCE TERRORISM. THEY WERE LESS FORTHCOMING ON POSSIBLE INTERIM STEPS TO IMPROVE THE SITUATION IN THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. THE MAJORITY OF THEM ALSO STRESSED TO ME THEIR COMMON POSITION WITH THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PLO.

I SEND YOU MY WARMEST REGARDS. ENDS

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NENAD

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PS/MR RENTON

PS/PUS

MR E FERGUSON

SIR D MIERS



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LONDON SW1A 2AA

*From the Private Secretary*

28 May 1986

**PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO ISRAEL:  
MESSAGES TO ARAB LEADERS**

I enclose the texts of messages from the Prime Minister to King Hussein, President Mubarak and King Fahd of Saudi Arabia.

I should be grateful if they could be despatched telegraphically to arrive at first contact tomorrow morning in the posts concerned. Signed copies will follow as soon as possible.

(Charles Powell)

R.N. Culshaw, Esq.,  
Foreign and Commonwealth Office.

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